2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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606 various services. He also has to treat his wife's mother with th
greatest deference. They are said to be "shy", *soa*, of each othe
and he may never look at her when addressing her. In the presenc
• 607 of his wife's brothers also he has to be restrained; he may not, e.g
587 be quarrelsome, nor may he beat his children and cause them to cry
To his wife's sisters, however, he behaves, according to Mrs. Hoernlé
"much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day inter
course with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed."
A woman, again, "considered her husband's younger brothers a
her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them."
Even now it is customary that after the death of a man his brothe
takes the widow into his hut, unless she already has grown-up son
and is sufficiently well-to-do to manage her household withou
assistance.[1]

Remarriage Ceremonies

587 The survivor of a marriage, whether man or woman, is no
permitted to remarry until at least a full year has elapsed since th
death of the other partner.[2] At the new marriage ceremony, whether
a widow marries a young man, a widower a young woman, or even
a widow a widower, great ritual precautions are necessary, and an
elaborate ceremonial is performed. The details of this custom have
been carefully recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé.[3]

587 Following upon the regular marriage feast, she says, a special
783 remarriage feast is held. For this a special animal is killed, if possible
794 a sheep, otherwise a goat. The bride and bridegroom enter the new
hut specially built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor,
and await proceedings. They are now in the peculiar state known
to the Hottentots as */nau*, during which they are not only themselves
in an extremely precarious condition, but are also a source of danger
to all other people who have not undergone the same ceremony.
Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan
(*sic*) see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut; still less would

[1] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 253; Schultze, *op. cit.*, 322 sq.; Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 345. The existence of the levirate among the Namaqua was noted as far back as 1760 by Ross and Mentzel, who state that if a man dies, leaving behind him a wife and children, it is the duty of his oldest surviving brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether he takes her or not. ("Rapport van den . . . Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 57.)

[2] Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 346.

[3] "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Inua among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, II (1918), 59–9.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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thing at his maternal uncle's */Hêis*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nâri //as*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day.

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[19] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances.

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays.

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the sib, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place.

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[19] Cf. Rheinische Missions Berichte, 1836, p. 111; also same Berichte, 1860, p. 31.